

BANAL NATIONALISM IN THE TURKISH PRESS - 2012

Handan KAZANCI

**ISTANBUL BILGI UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MA**

Istanbul June 2013

Prof. Dr. Arus Yumul

Banal Nationalism in the Turkish Press

Türkiye Medyasında Banal Milliyetçilik

Handan KAZANCI

106605009

Tez Danışmanı: Arus Yumul.....

Jüri Üyesi: İlay Romain Örs.....

Jüri Üyesi: Özge Onursal Beşgül

Tezin Onaylandığı Tarih : 27.06.2013.....

Toplam Sayfa Sayısı: 51.....

Anahtar Kelimeler (Türkçe)

Anahtar Kelimeler (İngilizce)

1) Banal Milliyetçilik

1) Banal Nationalism

2) Türkiye Yazılı Basını

2) Turkish Press

3) Eleştirel Söylem Analizi

3) Critical Discourse Analysis

Abstract

This dissertation, concerning “banal nationalism in the Turkish press”, aims to analyze the nationalist discourse of the Turkish media. To understand the nationalist discourse better, the study examines the Turkish dailies on an ordinary day, on March 7, 2012.

The key point for this study is the term ‘banal nationalism’ which Michael Billig came up with when he wrote his ground-breaking book *Banal Nationalism* in 1995. The inspiration for this study came from Billig himself, and Arus Yumul and Umut Ozkirimli’s study ‘Reproducing the nation: ‘banal nationalism’ in the Turkish press’. Since Yumul and Ozkirimli’s research on ‘Banal nationalism’ in 1997, many things have changed in Turkey and Turkish media. The ownership of media assets today is different than how it was back in 1997. Turkey’s EU membership talks and reforms have changed the discourse of Turkish newspapers on the Kurdish issue. There are now new newspapers. In spite of all the changes in Turkey, studying 34 Turkish newspapers show that Turkish media’s discourse on banal nationalism didn’t change at all. Turkish media is still an instrument for flagging nationhood and reproducing banal nationalism by using unnoticed, routine practices, and ‘taking for granted’ ideologies.

Özet

"Türkiye yazılı basınındaki banal milliyetçilik"le ilgili olan bu tez, Türkiye medyasındaki milliyetçi söylemi analiz etmeyi amaçlar. Çalışma, milliyetçi söylemi daha iyi anlamak için, 'sıradan' bir gün olan 7 Mart 2012'de basılan günlük gazeteleri inceler.

Çalışmanın anahtar noktası, Michael Billig'in 1995'te yazdığı çığır açan kitabı "*Banal Milliyetçilik*" terimidir. Bu tez için ilham da Billig'in kendisinden ve Arus Yumul and Umut

Özkırmılı'nın araştırması 'Reproducing the Nation: 'Banal Nationalism' in the Turkish Press'den geliyor. Yumul ve Özkırmılı'nın 1997'de gerçekleştirdikleri 'Banal Milliyetçilik' araştırmasının ardından, hem Türkiye'de hem de Türkiye medyasında çok fazla değişiklik oldu. Medya varlıklarının sahipliği, 1997'den daha farklı. Türkiye'nin AB üyeliği müzakereleri ve reformlar, Türkiye medyasının Kürt meselesi üzerindeki söylemini değiştirdi. Sektörde yeni gazeteler var. Türkiye'deki bütün bu değişikliklere rağmen, 34 Türk gazetesinin incelenmesi gösterdi ki, Türkiye medyasının 'Banal Milliyetçilik' söylemi değişmedi. Fark edilmeyen rutin pratikleri ve 'taking for granted' ideolojileri kullanarak, Türkiye medyası hala milliyetçiliği yüceltiyor ve banal milliyetçiliği yeniden üretiyor.

Table of Contents

Part 1: Introduction.....1

Part 2: Review of Literature and Theoretical Framework4

 2.1. Nationalism Discussions.....4

 2.1.1. Good Nationalism versus Bad Nationalism.....5

 2.2. Banal Nationalism.....8

 2.2.1. A Brief Overview to ‘Banal Nationalism’.....10

 2.3. The Significance of Banal Nationalism.....11

 2.3.1. Michael Skey’s critique ‘Secular-Islamist conflict’.....12

 2.3.2. Billig’s Answer.....13

 2.4. Relationship between Nationalism and the Media.....14

 2.4.1. Other Studies on the Topic.....17

Part 3: Research Design and Analysis.....18

 3.1 Discourse Analysis.....18

 3.1.1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).....19

3.1.2. Fairclough's Method of Critical Discourse Analysis.....	20
3.2. Nationalism and Discourse Analysis.....	21
Part 4: Analysis of Newspapers.....	27
4.1. Use of Words Stimulating Nationalism.....	29
4.2. Uludere (Roboski) Massacre.....	32
4.3. Banal Nationalism on the Economy Pages.....	38
4.4. Why Newspapers like Evrensel and Birgun is Important?.....	40
4.5 Sport News.....	41
Part 5: Conclusion.....	43
References.....	46

Part 1: Introduction

“The term *banal nationalism* is introduced to cover the ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced. (Billig, 1995: 6, *italics mine*) The ideological habits, by which our nations are reproduced as nations, are unnamed and therefore unnoticed. The national flag hanging outside a public building in the United States attracts no special attention. It belongs to no special, sociological genus. Having no name, it cannot be identified as a problem. Nor, by implication, is the daily reproduction of the United States a problem.” (Billig, 1995: 6; Skey, 2009: 332).

As this quotation suggests, the term banal nationalism which Micheal Billig coined when he wrote his groundbreaking book *Banal Nationalism* in 1995, plays an important role in the growing literature on nationalism. In his book *Banal Nationalism*, Billig demonstrates the endemic qualities of nationalism in the established nation-states of the ‘West’. Instead of seeing nationalism as something that exists ‘out there’ or something that is the characteristic feature of ‘extremists’, Billig seeks to show that nationalism is something that pertains to ‘our’ personal and group identities in the ‘West’. Furthermore, he emphasizes the way in which all kinds of nationalism are reproduced in banally “mundane” ways on a day to- day basis for, as Billig mentions, “the world of nations is the world of the everyday” (Billig, 1995: 93–127; Jones & Merriman, 2009: 164). Billig stress the role of the media in the invisible daily reproduction of nationhood through routine symbols and familiar habits of language.

Billig’s theory of banal nationalism has affected many scholars, especially in the fields of nationalism and sociology, including Arus Yumul and Umut Ozkirimli. In 1997, just two years after which Billing’s book was published, Yumul and Ozkirimli, adapted the study to the Turkish

context and analyzed the Turkish press on an “ordinary day”¹. The study surveyed 38 Turkish daily newspapers². According to Yumul and Ozkirimli, “Banal Nationalism refers to familiar, unnoticed, taken-for-granted forms of nationalism embedded in the routines of social life serve as constant reminders of nationhood”. Yumul and Ozkirimli also remarked that ‘the continual flagging of nationhood is accomplished in myriad ways’. For Yumul and Ozkirimli, ‘the media perhaps plays the most remarkable part in the daily reproduction of nationhood. It does so by using a deixis of homeland and nation-making, by flagging banal signs of nationhood, by quoting the nationalist utterances of politicians and others’.

The present study is another replication of Billig’s analysis in the Turkish context. My aim is to identify the changes, if any, in the media discourse since 1997. Given the changes in Turkey and the Turkish media, I believe it is important to repeat the study after almost 15 years, in order to assess the influence of these transformations on the ordinary reproduction, or flagging of banal nationhood. Moreover as the last 15 years have seen accelerated globalization, it has been suggested that the significance of nation states has declined and it is necessary to examine the current extent of national flagging

Although “no times - indeed no places - can be called wholly ‘ordinary’” (Billig, 1995: 110) to demonstrate the banal flagging of nationhood, it is important, as Billig notes, to study

¹ 16 January 1997.

² The study demonstrated that the Turkish newspapers constantly “flagged” nationhood. Yeni Yuzyil, Turkish Daily News, Hurses, Global, Ates, Bizim Gazete, Posta, Gunaydin, Hurriyet, Pazar Postasi, Milliyet, Sabah, Son Havadis, Takvim, Tan, Cumhuriyet, Radikal, Hergun, Son Cagri, Ortadogu, Aksam, Yeni Asya, Akit, Selam, Milli Gazete, Demokrasi, Emek, Yeni Safak, Zaman, Turkiye, Dunya, Finansal Forum, Bugun, Gozcu, Ekip, Fanatik, Fotomac, Spor.

“ordinary” days. I choose 7th of March 2012 since it was one of the rare ‘ordinary’ days in Turkey. I analyzed 34 daily newspapers³.

³ Birgun, Bugun, Yurt, Takvim, Haberturk, Milliyet, Posta, Aksam, Cumhuriyet, Radikal, Vatan, Sabah, Hurriyet Fanatik, Fotomac, Fotogol, Gunes, Sozcu, Milat, Milli Gazete, Yeni Mesaj, Ortadogu, Evrensel, Yeni Asya, Yenicag, Turkiye, Hurriyet Daily News, Today's Zaman, Dunya, Taraf, Yeni Akit, Star, Zaman. (Two of the newspapers are in English Today's Zaman and Hurriyet Daily News).

Part 2: Reviews of Literature and Theoretical Framework

2.1. Nationalism discussions

Nationalism is an extremely difficult concept to define. As Michael Keating says, there has been an endless debate over its meaning. He also adds that 'Nationalism is a doctrine of self-determination; that much is agreed' (2001:1). Anthony Smith disputes that despite the various definitions, common themes are apparent, the most important of which is over-riding concern with the nation. Smith himself offers a working definition: 'an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity for a population which some of its members deem to constitute and actual or potential "nation" (2001:9). With this definition it is clear that Smith agrees that those striving for political independence are not the only nationalists – those seeking to maintain their autonomous national status can also be categorized as nationalist (Crawford 2011: 621).

Most academic discussions regarding nationalism focus on the debates over its causes and origins. According to Crawford, in this context, there are two contrasting positions which frame the discussion. The first one is 'primordialism – an idea of continuity that locates nationalist movements in an ancient, collective identity'. For David Brown, 'when nations claim to be communities of common ancestry, they are, from the primordialist perspective, essentially correct (2000: 6). The second one is the dominant modernist school – those who believe nations are essentially invented or imagined (Anderson 1991: Gellner, 1983: Crawford, 2011) and who believe that the origins of nations can be located in the industrialization processes of the late 18th century/early 19th century (Crawford, 2011).

According to Crawford, there is another debate about nature of nationalism. “Perhaps the most cited debate in this context is the distinction drawn between ethnic and civic nationalism” (Ozkirimli, 2000). Ethnic nationalism, which defines the nation in terms of common descent and heredity – often defined in terms of common blood and kinship – is often used as a term that refers to a national group claiming the right to self-determination by reference to the homogeneous nature and history of the relevant population. Civic nationalism, by contrast, seeks to mobilize a population, sharing the same territory, which it recognizes as being ethnically diverse, by emphasizing a shared interest in coming together to promote the common well-being (Crawford, 2011).

According to Drakulic (2008), nationalism is always associated with ethnic interest. Indeed, it seems hard to disagree with the idea that even the most civic-minded nationalist movement relies to some extent on ethnic basis.

2.1.1. “Good nationalism versus bad nationalism”

A further distinction in the study of nationalism is between patriotism and nationalism. Walker Connor (1994:196), for example, notes that “nationalism and patriotism refer to two quite distinct loyalties: the former to one’s national group; the latter to one’s state (country) and its institutions”. Under this definition, patriotism is chiefly interested in advancing “the welfare of one’s nation but is neutral with regard to the evaluation of others” whereas nationalism is associated “with higher levels of chauvinism, prejudice, militarism, hawkish attitudes, social dominance orientation, and lower levels of internationalism.” (Kemmelmeier and Winter, 2008: 863).

Although a prominent nationalist scholar, Breuille (1996:146) finds the conceptual distinction uninteresting, politicians have been keener to draw the contrast. In western political discourse, patriotism – love of one’s country – is clearly a good thing. In *The Audacity of Hope*, Barack Obama writes of the American people: “We value patriotism and the obligations of citizenship, a sense of duty and sacrifice on behalf of our nation” (2007: 55). The former British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, consistently championed the idea of patriotism, calling for the Labour Party to be unashamedly patriotic (BBC, 2006). In contrast the patriotism, it is difficult to imagine the idea of nationalism being used by these political leaders approvingly. Indeed, Gordon Brown frequently uses accusations of nationalism as a means of his attacking political opponents – both the SNP (The Scottish National Party) and the British Conservative Party (Brown, 1999: The Scotsman, 2010). The notions of ‘good patriotism’ versus ‘bad nationalism’ have been an important discussion point in the analysis of western press and political attitudes to the issue of national identity (Crawford, 2011).

Similarly Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the prime minister of Turkey when defining his understanding of nationalism implicitly refers to the distinction between patriotism and nationalism. He distances himself from any kind of exclusionary hatred or ethnic nationalism, and he doesn’t claim the superiority of any in-group or advocate the exclusion or domination of any minority. However his understanding of nationalism proclaims the unity of the nation under the same flag. A summary of Erdoğan’s speech in the caucus on November 2010⁴:

“Nationalism is not racism. Nationalism is not shouting slogans, chanting with different symbols, nor imposing intolerance as an ideology. Nationalism is to connect upon a certain ideology and values, clamp together for a vision of future; band together on the name of tranquility and peace of humanity. Common

⁴ For full article please visit <http://www.bianet.org/biamag/bianet/144811-neo-liberal-milliyetcilik-ve-akp>

history and cultural awareness keep people together and carry them to the future as a nation. Nationalism is precious if it can form this spirit. Nationalism is to reach your own nation, your motherland, country, and with them, to the all humanity and the sufferers, and to gather around and hug them with open arms. Nationalism is never and ever racism. Yet, the main elements which constitute the nation are not the bloodlines or genetic codes; they are the history, culture, common values and ideals. Marginilizing the two martyrs who died for the same flag, ideals, and values, and who lay side by side by their ethnical background, language, roots and religious sects is the greatest injustice and disrespect to this people, the martyrs, and the country. We are a nation gathered under the supra-identity of Republic of Turkey; clenched together for the same flag, same national anthem, same ideals and values. We always see nationalism this way and we will continue to see it like this.”

In his analysis of AKP’s (*Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi*- Justice and Development Party) and Erdoğan’s interpretation of nationalism, Güven Gürkan Oztan emphasises that AKP constructs a new official ideology of “acceptable nationalism” to supersede the old official ideology.

As Billig maintains nationalists declare themselves to be patriots when they desire to tell between their rational, political loyalty from the irrational and dangerous national attachments of the ‘others’ (55-9).

In February 2013, in Midyat, Erdogan made another speech and mentioned Kurdish – Turkish conflict and resolution process saying, “within this period, nobody fronts us with Kurdisness, nobody fronts us with Turkishness; we disregard to all kind of nationalism.”

In another speech he said:

“In terms of racism, we don’t give credit to BDP’s (*Baris ve Demokrasi Partisi*- Peace and Democracy Party) nationalism which follows CHP’s (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* – Republican People’s Party) path in

terms of racism. We demean all senses of nationalism except the understanding of one nation. We are not a party which compresses nationalism into slogans, but one that embraces it with the service to the people.”

Referring to Erdoğan’s above-mentioned speech Hasan Celal Güzel, a former politician and current columnist says:

“In Turkey, “Nationalism” is never understood as racism; it is patriotism. Moreover, the USA and Europe’s patriotism is stronger than our so-called racisms. Almost everybody who lives in Turkey is nationalist in sense of patriotism.

(...)

PM Erdogan’s Midyat speech on nationalism is actually opposed to racism and discrimination. We know how he (Erdogan) embraces national and sentimental values.” (“İrkçılık, Milliyetçilik, Vatanseverlik” *Sabah*, 21 February 2013-My italics).

Let me finish this section by referring to Billig’s “our patriotism, their nationalism” distinction, which he claims to be merely rhetorical: “‘Our’ nationalism is not presented as nationalism, which is dangerously irrational, surplus and alien. A new identity, a different label, is found for it. ‘Our’ nationalism appears as ‘patriotism’ – a beneficial, necessary and, often, American force.” (Billig, 1995: 55).

2.2 Banal Nationalism

Daily newspapers fulfill a very important role in moderating the national form. In the relationship between the media and nationalism, Benedict Anderson’s well known book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (1983-1991)*, has proved to be very influential. In his book, Anderson (1991) argues that from the very first newspaper created “an imagined community among a specific assemblage of fellow –readers” to

make intelligible the vast variety of conditions created by the disparate social and business needs of capitalism and colonial administration. According to his thesis, ‘the formation of national subjectivity derives from a secular concept of language with its basis in arbitrary rather than divine signs’ (Law: 2001). The spread of secular language, in his view, gives rise to a particular concept of time which is augmented by the development of mass media. By reading the newspaper every day, anonymous citizens came to take for granted that they are moving through a homogeneous empty-time together. They simultaneously read accounts of events that appear together only by virtue of their temporal coincidence. In Europe, this kind of national subjectivity depended on literacy and the spread of print capitalism. It was imitated throughout the colonial and postcolonial worlds, taking on as it did an ever more modular, or transferable, form (Lipset and Halvaksz: 119). Anderson underlines that “the ‘nation’ proved an invention on which it was impossible to secure a patent, it became available for pirating by widely different, and sometimes unexpected, hands.” (Anderson: 67; Lipset and Halvaksz: 119).

In 1995 Michael Billig subsequently developed a related idea about the discursive integration of the national subject (Lipset and Halvaksz: 119). The term “banal nationalism” plays an important role in the growing literature on nationalism. According to Billig (1995:14), there are two kind of nationalism: hot and banal.⁵

There is a double neglect as far as the social scientific investigation of nationalism is concerned.

The neglect of the unwaved flags by citizenry going about their business is paralleled by a theoretical neglect. The inhabitation of nationalism within established nations is largely ignored by conventional sociological common sense. Only the waved or saluted flags tend to be noticed.

If sociological categories are nets for catching slices of social life, then the net, which sociologists

⁵ For more studies of the relationship between newspaper coverage and banal national identity see Bishop and Jaworski (2003), Brookes (1999), Law (2001), Yumul and Ozkirimli (2000) and Kose and Yilmaz (2013).

have marked 'nationalism', is remarkably small one: and it seems to be used primarily for catching exotic, rare and often violent specimens. The collector of these species tends not to stand in Main Street, USA, with net poised for new varieties. (Billig:43)

2.2.1. A brief overview to 'banal nationalism'

The central thesis of Billig's study is that in the established nations there is a constant flagging of nationhood. He introduces the term 'banal nationalism' to cover all those unnoticed, routine practices, ideological habits, beliefs and representations which make the daily reproduction of nations in the established states of the West. (Yumul and Ozkirimli 2000, 787-788) In his book Billig also gives a good example about what banal nationalism is saying, "the metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is a flag hanging unnoticed on the public building." (Billig: 1995, 8).

Billig also argues that the political speeches and mass media which routinely reproduce a taken-for-granted world composed of sovereign, discrete nations. For example, individual reports are often classified as 'home' and 'foreign' news and then flagged in terms of their relevance to 'us', while a wide range of media texts constitute and address a national audience by using deictic language such as 'we', 'our', 'us' and 'here' to signify the nation (Billig, 1995: 105, Skey, 2009: 332).

Another aspect of Billig's study, which I would like to mention is his writings on globalisation. Billig rejects those arguments post-modern arguments that the nation-state is in decline in a new era of global flows, and equates globalisation with Americanisation (Billig, 1995: 149-53; Skey, 2009: 333).

2.3. The significance of banal nationalism

Billig's study began to move away from the more macro-scale theorizing on nationalism to more empirical based studies, which focused on issues of representation, contestation and localized meaning-making as well as more contextualized case studies. Moving beyond general theories of nationalism, Billig's critique of the apparent orthodoxy, both in political and academic spheres, which broadly places contemporary nationalism outside the experience of civilized (West) societies has contributed to the increased scrutiny of 'methodological nationalism' (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002; Chernilo, 2006; Skey, 2009: 333).

Billig draw attention to the fact that in much sociological writings the concept of society is unquestionably associated with the nation-state. (1995: 51; 2009: 333) As a result, what Billig has shown is that unproblematically adopting the tenets of methodological nationalism, whether in the academic sphere or elsewhere, is part of a wider and largely entrenched set of processes that legitimizes and naturalizes discourses of the nation. (2009: 334) It also focuses our attention on the ongoing production of a hegemonic discourse whose power comes from being seen as natural, taken for granted or common sense (Sutherland, 2005: 196, Skey, 2009: 334).

Billig also identifies the problem (a tendency to treat the nation as a given both in everyday life and social theory) and point towards its possible contours. Also, by exploring the everyday (re)production of national identity through banal signifiers, our attention is focused on the fact that it is generally the daily forms of life, experienced and understood in relation to a world of nations, that underpins the more visible aspects of nationalism (2009: 334).

2.3.1. Michael Skey's critique "*Secular-Islamist conflict*"

One of the critiques of Billig's study of banal nationalism has come from Michael Skey. According to Skey there are two main weaknesses of Billig's theory. The first one is "the Banal Nationalism thesis does not address how different constituencies might respond to the particular media texts or political speeches used as examples of the nation being flagged in a routine or taken for granted manner." The second weakness that Skey identifies regards globalisation:

"Although, a number of interesting observations about hot and banal forms of nationalism are made by Billig, the thesis does not incorporate any real sense of dynamism, notably when dealing with the arguments of those who have posited a new 'globalising era' driven by ever increasing global flow in people, products, ideas and images." (Billig, 1995: 03; Skey, 2009: 337).

In his article, Skey mentions Yumul and Ozkirimli's study and their conclusion saying, "the discourse used by the Turkish press is crammed with the constituent elements of the nationalist ideology" (Yumul and Ozkirimli, 2000: 801; Skey, 2009:336). He continues by arguing that "what limits such a study is that it does not even acknowledge the complexity of the national audience in question beyond brief nod of 'secular-Islamist conflict'" (Skey, 2009: 336).

In his article Skey states that, "it should be noted that Billig does acknowledge the complex nature of the British press by writing 'technically the British press is not national in the sense that the same editions cover whole of the United Kingdom' (1995: 111). However, he then goes on to adopt the 'conventional hegemonic semantics of British nationalism' by allowing English editions to represent Britain." The other critique of Skey on banal nationalism is the relation between media and the nation. He notes that, "in an era of new media technologies that often transcend national boundaries, the relationship between the media and the nation is being

made ever more complex through the widespread use of the internet, satellite broadcasting, mobile phones etc.” (Skey: 2009, 336).

2.3.2. Billig’s answer

First of all Billig states that “ [Skey] over-simplifies the argument of *Banal Nationalism*, particularly when he claims that I hold a top-down model which views ordinary people as passively receiving media messages” (Billig, 2009:347). Billig notes that, “certainly, *Banal Nationalism* concentrates on top-down phenomena, such as statements from politicians, symbols on coins, national flags. Skey’s complaint is not that I examine such phenomena, but that I use an unsatisfactory ‘model’ to do so, a model which, ‘basically assumes that a national media addresses and constitutes a coherent national public.” (Skey, 2009: 335; Billig, 2009, 347). Billig also adds that “Skey does not relate *Banal Nationalism* to his psychological writings. His psychological perspective stresses the link between arguing and thinking.” (Billig, 1987: 1991 and 2009). Billig also argues that banal nationalism attempted to look beyond the dialogues of conscious sense making towards a psychology of the unnoticed:

The flags hanging in the street, or attached to the lapels of politicians, carry no propositional message for the ordinary citizen to receive passively or consciously argue against. Yet, such symbols help to maintain the everyday world as belonging to the world of nation-states (Billig: 2009, 349).

Billig also stresses that nationalism and internationalism are not opposites:

If nationalism is global, then one can expect to find features of banal nationalism across the world. Skey, however, claims that I firmly locate ‘banal nationalism in the “established, democratic nations”⁶ of the West’. I think there has been a misunderstanding. First, it is not only in the West that one can find

⁶ By ‘established’ Billig does not mean secure or unchanging, Western nation-states that have been conventionally accepted in the world of nations – belonging to the United Nations, issuing internationally accepted passports, possessing to the own military and so on. (Billig: 2009, 349)

democratic nation-states. Second, it is not difficult to find the banal reproduction of national symbols in non-Western nations (Billig, 2009:349).

2.4. Relationship between nationalism and the media

Most people don't really think about established nation-states like the UK or the USA, when they are talking about nationalism (Billig: 1995). Billig (1995: 93) argues that, in reality, nationhood is always 'near the surface of contemporary life' a cosy, homely space, barely noticeable as the defining context of everyday discourse. Visible ceremonial declarations of nationhood only make sense because of the deep embeddedness of national community. Underlying assumptions of nation are routinely secreted to political, cultural and philosophical discourses. Thoughtless practices of national self-praise, the 'mirror of narcissus' (Billig, 1995: 105), are conducted by even the most aloof of states and 'progressive' of thinkers who declaim the bellicose flag-waving of right wing, intolerant 'Others'. According to Billig, this denies an intractable condition of contemporary life: a world of armed states, within which one state, the US, is *primus inter pares* (Law, 2013: 301, italics are original).

Unmemorable clichés and habits of political discourse are very important precisely 'because of, not despite, their rhetorical dullness' (Billig, 1995: 93). Deixis, from the Greek word for 'pointing'/enables meaning to become anchored to the context of its concrete utterance, a semantic device that 'links a text with the time and place of communication and with the participants: which "orient" speaker and addressee to the context of the discourse' (Fowler, 1991: 63). Little words, chiefly personal pronouns (such as 'I', 'our', 'your' and 'we'), indicators of time (such as 'today', 'now' and 'then'), or indicators of place, ('here', 'there' and 'away') and the demonstratives, (such as 'this' and 'that') denote where, when and who forms the deictic center of the nation. Such small words center the addressee within a shared verbal universe.

National deictic 'context-setting' dialogically anticipates an instantaneous acceptance of speaker-listener unanimity (Law, 2013, 301).

Nations depend on the force of deictic repetition and familiarity to generate valorization. Eventually such praise appears as non-repetitive and unfamiliar, as if national communion was being staged afresh, producing an excess of semiotic value in each and every new instance. Repeatability stabilizes and reifies national identity as both singularly novel and reassuringly the same (De Cilia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999). Yet newspapers seem an unpromising medium for habitually secreting the national form to social life. Fowler (1991: 64) argues that different deictic structures operate for speech and print communication. Words like 'I', 'here', 'us', 'our' are used less frequently in impersonal news columns, though they appear more regularly in opinion and editorial columns. Fowler tends to neglect the context-dependent structure of meaning for print media. Newspapers are indeed subject to an inter-textual hierarchy. Analysis of political discourse typically privileges the editorial column and leading features, for example during general elections (Seymour-Ure, 1997) or in shaping world political opinion (Rusciano, 1997). Moreover, an in-built bias in the structure of news presentation for 'home' news pervades newspapers reporting, rendering explicit deictic pointing unnecessary. 'Home' becomes the organizing context for all news. Broadsheets paginally separate home (or national) from foreign (or world) news (Law, 2013: 302).

Deixis operates at still deeper levels. 'Now' provides a temporal specificity to the currentness of the news: 'here' is a national sense of 'this' place; 'we' includes not only the 'we' of reader and writer but also the global 'we' composed of all reasonable people. An inconspicuous use of 'the', the definite article, as in *the nation*, *the home news* and even *the weather*, peppers newsprint (Billig, 1995: 115-116). Britain is reported simply as '*the nation*'

whereas other nations need to be explicitly specified. Headlines flag nationhood more directly through the deixis of reported speech. Whole nations are personified by the parts, leaders for *their* people, states metonymically by capital cities. Moreover, the mood of address assumes that a global audience would share the same right-thinking sentiments. Daily, Britain-*the*-nation is premised upon a shared universal reasonableness; self-conceit is an important quality of unassuming nationalism (Law, 2013: 302).

Doubts have been cast on potential for nationalist mobilization. Balakrishnan (1996) argues that states mobilize national communities only on the basis of emotionally charged political drama. An absence of acute interstate conflict weakens nationalism, rendering “the experience of national membership faint and superficial” (Balakrishnan, 1996: 210). To see nationalism in this context, doomed in future to “play a less conspicuous role” (Balakrishnan, 1996: 212) is to miss the potential power of the banal in the Billig’s analysis. During (and even after) the Cold War, Europe remained a theater of continual preparation for warfare, giving rise to what might be called a ‘military-industrial media complex’ (Leslie, 1997). The state’s enthusiasm for nationalist mobilization is unlikely to diminish. However, Billig tends to compress state and nation, if not society, too tightly together. National identity is not directly reducible to either state or civil society. Rather, it mediates them semiotically, hence the significance of mass communications for the national idea (Law, 2013: 302).

Billig surveyed ten newspapers on an ‘ordinary day’, Monday 28 June 1993. That the newspapers selected for analysis were already defined as ‘national’ indicates the power of the conventional hegemonic semantics of British nationalism.

2.4.1. Other studies on the topic

Lemi Baruh and Mihaela Popescu's article 'Guiding metaphors of nationalism: the Cyprus issue and the construction of Turkish national identity in online discussions' is another good research about nationalism and its effects on the media, specifically online media. In their research Baruh and Popescu do not make any normative assertions about the differences between patriotism and nationalism. Rather, they focus on the utilization of these constructs in individuals' attempts to communicate their connection to the community that is named as 'the nation' (Baruh-Popescu: 2008).

Another example is the Dilara Sezgin and Melissa A. Wall's study, 'Constructing the Kurds in the Turkish press: a case study of Hurriyet newspaper'. They analyzed news article coverage of Kurds from 1997 to 2002 in Hurriyet (Sezgin And Wall:2005).

Kose and Yilmaz's article (2013) "Flagging Turkishness: the reproduction of banal nationalism in the Turkish press" is another paper on the same topic. Reproducing nationalism by the media via familiar words and statements promotes the flagging of nationalism banally. According to Kose and Yilmaz, nationalism has become more than an intellectual ideology, it has become an emotional philosophy due to its system of representation, the emotion of belonging, and it's also as a term that has infiltrated our private lives. This sentiment is a socio-political nationalism that embraces certain aspects, such as the urge to always defend your nation when criticized or desecrated, supporting your national team in matches, feeling pride over any sort of achievement that your country gains, or disappointment when it fails. Because of this emotion, it is easy to realize why nationalism appears in our routine lives, becomes accepted, popularized and becomes more and more visible in our lives.

Part 3: Research Design and Analysis

3.1. Discourse Analysis

The terms 'discourse' and 'discourse analysis' (DA) are vigorously contested concepts whose definition, it often seems, are even beyond the scope of discourse studies itself.

Methodologically, theoretically and analytically, the field of DA is extremely diverse (Richardson, 2007: 21).

'Discourse' is a very fashionable and frequently misused word in contemporary academia. Writing around this subject has produced many, often radically different, definition of discourse (Richardson, 2007: 21). John E. Richardson writes in his book *Analysis Newspapers* that, "until relatively recently in media research empirical qualitative studies were consigned to the margins of research activity and graduate training." He also adds that this view is changing with media research gradually opening up to more collection and analysis. He adds:

Critical Discourse Analysis is one such interpretative, contextual and constructivist approach.

What this means is that critical discourse analysts: offer *interpretations* of the meanings of texts rather than just quantifying textual features and deriving meaning from this; situate *what* is written is or said in the *context* in which it occurs, rather than just summarizing patterns or regularities in texts; and argue that textual meaning is constructed through an interaction between producer, text and consumer rather than simply being 'read off' the page by all readers in exactly the same way (Richardson, 2007: 15, Italics are in the original).

Lindlof (1995:22) argues that objectivist science and quantitative methods have been insufficient to perform all these tasks, not because these modes of inquiry are faulty, but because they

advocate views of the world that do not value the study of situated, emergent and reflexive human phenomena.

3.1.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) represents a growing body of work that adopts the functionalist definition of discourse. However, in addition to accepting that discourse is language in use, the overall aim of CDA 'has been to link linguistic analysis to social analysis' (Woods and Kroger, 2000: 206). Critical discourse analysts argue that if we accept Gee's (1999) suggested general principle of functionalist discourse analysis – that language use contributes the (re)production of social life – then, logically, discourse must play a part in producing and reproducing social inequalities. In response, CDA 'seeks to have an effect on social practice and social relationships' (Titscher et al. 2000: 147), particularly on relationships of disempowerment, dominance, prejudice and/or discrimination. Critical analysis of this kind may be focus 'at different levels of abstraction from the particular event: it may involve its more immediate situational context, the wider context of institutional practices the event is embedded within, or the yet wider frame of the society and the culture' (Fairclough, 1995b: 62).

Titscher et al. (2000) using the work of Wodak (1996) summarizes the general principles of CDA as follows:

“-CDA is concerned with social problems. It is not concerned with language or language use per se, but with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures.

- Power-relations have to do with discourse, and CDA studies both power in discourse and power over discourse.

- Society and culture are dialectically related to discourse: society and culture are shaped by discourse, and at the same time constitute discourse. Every single instance of language use reproduces or transforms society and culture, including power relations.
- Language use may be ideological. To determine this it is necessary to analyze texts to investigate their interpretation, reception and social effects.
- Discourses are historical and can only be understood in relation to their context. At a metatheoretical level this corresponds to the approach of Wittgenstein, according to which the meaning of an utterance rests in its usage in a specific situation.
- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory. Critical analysis implies a systematic methodology and a relationship between the text and its social conditions, ideologies and power relations.” (Wodak, 1996: 17-20, cited in Titscher et al. 2000: 146, cited in Richardson, 2007: 26-27).

3.1.2. Fairclough’s Method of Critical Discourse Analysis

According to Richardson (2007), the approach to CDA that is most satisfactory is that of Norman Fairclough’s. For Fairclough, in contrast to the social psychological approach of Wetherell and Potter (1992), the social-cognitive model of van Dijk (1993, 1998, 2001) and the discourse-historic method of the Vienna School (Reisingl and Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 1996, 2002; Wodak *et al.*, 1999)⁷ CDA means:

⁷ Basically, the following approaches/trends can be distinguished. (However, all typologies do not really fit; totally different classification would emerge by topics or also by theoretical underpinnings; many scholars are not mentioned here):

- Functional Systemic Grammar: FAIRCLOUGH, KRESS, GRAHAM, RICHARDSON
- Lesarten approach: MAAS, JANUSCHEK
- Duisburg approach: JÄGER, LINK

The analysis of relationships between concrete language use and the wider social cultural structures (...). He attributes three dimensions to every discursive event. It is simultaneously text, discursive practice – which also includes the production and interpretation of texts – and social practice. The analysis is conducted according to these three dimensions (Titscher *et al.*, 2000: 149-150).

Fairclough's model of CDA provides a more accessible method of *doing* CDA than alternative theoretical approaches (Richardson, 2007: 37). Fairclough argues that to fully understand what discourse is and how it works, analysis needs to draw out the form and function of the text, the way that this text relates to the way it is produced and consumed, and the relation of this to the wider society in which it takes place.

3.2. Nationalism and Discourse Analysis

Journalism textbooks for trainee reporters offer clear guidelines on the distinction between news writings and opinion writing (Randall, 2000:198), a point reinforced in the UK by the press self-regulation body the PCC (Press Complaints Commission), which in its code of practice says, “the Press, whilst free to be partisan, must distinguish clearly between comment, conjecture and fact” (PCC, 2011).

-
- Socio-cognitive approach: VAN DIJK, CHILTON, KOLLER
 - Combining CDA and Corpus Linguistics: MAUTNER, Carmen CALDASCOULTHARD
 - Social Actors Approach: VAN LEEUWEN
 - Visual Grammar: KRESS, VAN LEEUWEN, LEMKE, SCOLLON and SCOLLON
 - Loughborough approach: BILLIG
 - Vienna School: WODAK, MENZ, GRUBER, REISIGL, KRZYZANOWSKI, DE CILLIA, POLLAK
 - Social Psychological approach: WETHERELL, POTTER
- For more information please visit: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/255/561>

News reporters on the whole therefore see themselves as offering a window on the world, presenting “us with an ongoing narrative about the world beyond our immediate experience. This narrative is asserted to be true” (Crawford, 2011).

According to Lacey (2009) the idea of reporting as a window on the world is dismissed for most journalism scholars. The notion of a clean separation between neutral reporting and opinionated comment writing is essentially discarded. Instead, analysis of western journalism practices has concentrated on class struggle and on explaining how the selection of news stories and the language used in those stories serves to maintain the dominant (capitalist) ideology. Classic studies produced by groups working at Birmingham and Glasgow universities in the 1970s have been particularly influential in this regard (Hall et al., 1978; Philo et al., 1977; Crawford, 2011).

Since those early studies, scholars have developed various textual analysis techniques to demonstrate the power of the media in sustaining unequal economic relations. Within that basic world view, however, important differences have emerged. Philo (2007), for example has been critical of those who, he says, concentrate on the text largely ignoring the production process and how texts interpreted by audiences. In so doing, he aims his fire in particular at critical discourse analysis (CDA). For one of its leading figures, CDA is defined as an ‘academic movement of scholars specifically interested in the analysis of fundamental social problems, such as the discursive reproduction of illegitimate domination’ (Van Dijk, 2008: 822). Derived in part from the work of Fowler (1991), critical discourse analysts are interested in linguistic conventions deployed by news journalists. For example, newspaper headline writing is examined to show how agency is deleted in certain situations and how responsibility for certain actions (by dominant groups or those who serve them) is therefore concealed from the reader. According to

Widdowson (2007: 112) this claim of concealment is problematic. "How" he asks, "can analysts be sure the absences from a sentence they detect would not be generated as inferences anyway via other information in the text?" Further criticism, as part of a lively dialogue between CDA scholars, is offered by Billig (2008) who questions among other things, the technical language used in such analysis.

CDA's focus on power structures in society and is often used to identify the way in which political rhetoric, newspaper articles and other forms of elite communication are used to support dominant groups and marginalize others. This has prompted an interest in nationalism and how nationalists succeed in (discursively) constructing a sense of sameness among those allowed into the nation and a sense of difference and distance from those who are excluded (De Cilla et al. 1999; Wodak et al., 1999).

In his study Crawford quotes Riggins saying "characterising others as odd or irrational is a powerful strategy of exclusion used by a dominant majority that sees itself as normal and rational." (2011). This idea of strategy is important in the work of Wodak et al. (1999) who identify various strategies used by politicians, journalists and others achieve certain goals. Strategies in this sense may not always be consciously pursued but can be applied automatically depending on the relevant social and material conditions. Politicians and journalists are said to have the greatest degree of conscious intention while individuals responding to questions have the least. Discourse analysts then study texts to investigate the means by which these strategies are realized. For example, Ricento (2003) identifies various rhetorical strategies in political speeches that discursively construct Americanism.

What has been changed since 1997 in the Turkish media?

As mentioned above, Billig illustrated his argument with reference to empirical examples drawn from a 'day survey' of 'the ten major daily newspapers'⁸ published in Britain on 28 June 1993 (Billig, 1995: 110). Yumul and Özkırmılı replicated the study in the Turkish context. Like Yumul and Ozkirimli, I conducted a survey of Turkish newspapers and analyzed the nationalist discourse of newspapers with different ideological affiliations. I would like mention here that this is not a reception study and does not demonstrate how the readers decode the messages of the media, and that there is a strong need to conduct another study to show how different readers interpret the meanings of the text.

Since Yumul and Ozkirimli conducted their study important changes have taken place in the Turkish media and the nationalist discourses in Turkey. First of all, there are some new newspapers like Birgun and Evrensel, (I am going to mention those two newspapers again in the next chapter) and also the ownership situation has been restructured.

One of the most significance changes since Yumul and Ozkirimli's study is the ownership of Turkish media organizations. When Yumul and Ozkirimli conducted their study, there were 2 major groups Aydin Dogan's Dogan Media and Dinc Bilgin's Sabah Group. Today, Dinc Bilgin is no longer part of the media sector. (Ahmet Tezcan, ETI Bank Sabah Grubuna Intikam Tuzagi, 4. Kuvvet Medya) Also Aydin Dogan recently sold his 2 newspapers Vatan and Milliyet recently (Bloomberg, Aydan Eksin). Today the major media groups are:

- Dogan Media Group (Aydin Dogan / Arzuhan Yalcindag)
- Dogus Media Group (Ayhan Sahenk / Ferit Sahenk)

⁸ "They are conventionally divided into three market groups: the 'sensational tabloids' – Daily Star, Daily Mirror and Sun, aimed principally at working class readers; the 'respectable' tabloids – Daily Mail, Daily Express and Today; and the 'heavies' or broadsheets – The Times, Guardian, Daily Telegraph and Independent, addresses at a middle class audience.

- Turkuvaz Media Group of Calik Holding (Ahmet Calik)
- Cukurova Media Group of Cukurova Holding (TMSF- Tasarruf Mevduati Sigorta Fonu⁹)

The ideological categorization of the newspapers has also changed. For example at the time that Ozkirimli and Yumul conducted their study, they categorized daily Cumhuriyet as a center left newspaper but presently its former political categorization is disputed. An additional factor affecting the study is nationalist discourse of the newspapers. When Yumul and Ozkirimli conducted their research the term *ulusalcilik* had not gained the currency that it holds today. Since the Justice and Development Party came to power in 2002, “the mainstream media was reconfigured ideologically as either ‘opponent’ or ‘proponent’ to the government.” (Kurban and Sözeri, 2012: 10).

Also Turkey’s EU candidacy and the reforms related to the EU accession process have changed the discourse on the Kurdish issue. Such changes I believe are important to identify the changes of nationalist discourse of the Turkish newspapers since 1997.

As Yumul and Ozkirimli notes, “the media perhaps plays the most remarkable part in the daily reproduction of nationhood. By using a deixis of homeland and nation-making, by flagging banal signs of nationhood, by quoting the nationalist utterances of politicians and others, the media reproduce the nationhood in the country.” For this study it is important to choose an ordinary day as Billig states on his book *Banal Nationalism*, “no times - indeed no places - can be called wholly ‘ordinary’” (1995:110). As I mentioned on the first chapter, I choose March 2012 since it was one of the rare ‘ordinary’ days of Turkish media. I surveyed 34 daily

⁹ TMSF Cukurova Grubu’na el koydu. Bianet <http://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/146910-tmsf-cukurova-grubu-nun-on-sirketine-el-koydu>

newspapers¹⁰. (Two of the newspapers are in English *Today's Zaman* and *Hurriyet Daily News*).

My question is: 'Has anything changed in the manifestations of banal nationalism in the Turkish press since 1997 (in other words, since Yumul and Ozkirimli conducted their study)?'

¹⁰ Birgun, Bugun, Yurt, Takvim, Haberturk, Milliyet, Posta, Aksam, Cumhuriyet, Radikal, Vatan, Sabah, Hurriyet Fanatik, Fotomac, Fotogol, Gunes, Sozcu, Milat, Milli Gazete, Yeni Mesaj, Ortadogu, Evrensel, Yeni Asya, Taka, Yenicag, Turkiye, Hurriyet Daily News, Today's Zaman, Dunya, Taraf, Yeni Akit, Star, Zaman. (Two of the newspapers are in English, Today's Zaman and Hurriyet Daily News)

Part 4: Analysis of Newspapers

I conducted a survey on 34 Turkish daily newspapers, on a randomly selected day, 7 March 2012. The newspapers that I studied are *Aydinlik*, *Birgun*, *Bugun*, *Yurt*, *Takvim*, *Haberturk*, *Milliyet*, *Posta*, *Aksam*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Radikal*, *Vatan*, *Sabah*, *Hurriyet*, *Fanatik*, *Fotomac*, *Fotogol*, *Gunes*, *Sozcu*, *Milat*, *Milli Gazete*, *Yeni Mesaj*, *Ortadogu*, *Evrensel*, *Yeni Asya*, *Yenicag*, *Turkiye*, *Hurriyet Daily News*, *Today's Zaman*, *Dunya*, *Taraf*, *Yeni Akit*, *Star*, *Zaman*. Two newspapers are in English, *Today's Zaman* and *Hurriyet Daily news*. This was an ordinary day in the sense that it was not an official day of celebration, commemoration, electoral campaigning or a time of extraordinary national crisis. The selection of an ordinary day is important as Yumul and Ozkirimli mentions "it enables us to see to what extent and in what forms nationhood is flagged or reminded daily by the media even when there is no major crisis" (2000: 789). Also as Billig notes, "no times – indeed no places – can be called wholly ordinary" (1995: 110).

As I mentioned before there are different CDA approaches, and there are more than one modalities for applying CDA to the news items. In this study, I used both quantitative and qualitative data. The proportion of national and international news items reported in the newspapers is shown in Table 1. Only 356 of 2315 news items examined were related to foreign politics. 85 % of news items presented were directly relevant to Turkey. Yumul and Ozkirimli also found that most of the international news on the front pages of the newspapers' were either directly related to Turkey or had implications for Turkey (791). It is possible to evaluate this situation by considering that people are most interested in what is happening around their close environment, which reminds us daily of our country, and makes us feel at home (Billig, 1995, 117).

Newspaper editorials that I analyzed addressed the nation, by speaking for the nation; newspapers gave messages regarding national interest, national integrity and common future, and thus, views were defended ‘for the nation and in the name of nation’. I observed that 319 (87 %) of the columns examined were relevant to Turkey, 44 (13%) of them were related to issues concerning Turkey or its foreign politics. Turkish editorials try to find something relevant to Turkey to publish a story on foreign issues.

TABLE 1- The proportion of national and international news

	Domestic	%	International	%	Total
Total News	1959	85	356	15	2315
Columns	319	87	44	13	363
Sport News	638	88	87	12	725
Sport Columns	51	95	3	5	54

At first glance, it is possible to detect the most conspicuous symbols of ‘banal nationalism’. Approximately more than half (20 out of 34) of the newspapers examined use in their logos either the Turkish flag or a map of Turkey and/or slogans that directly or indirectly remind us of our homeland and national identity. And most of newspapers (27 out of 34) uses Turkish flags colors –white and red- in their logos. Some of slogans carry overt nationalist tones, such as, “Turkey for the Turks – Turkiye Turklerindir” (Hurriyet)¹¹, “This country has been Turkish in history, is Turkish today, and is going to be Turkish forever – Turkey for the Turks;

¹¹ Although there are some critics of Hurriyet’s slogans like Taraf newspapers opinion (Turkiye Turklerindir sacmaligi - <http://www.taraf.com.tr/haber/herkes-turkiye-vatandasidir.htm>), there are also some debates on the issue as well, like Benguturk TV presenter’s Murat Sahin (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LpdKCV3vt9U> – He reads the spot of the Taraf’s headline and then rip the newspaper.

Bu memleket tarihte Turk'tu, bugün de Turk'tur ve ebediyen de Turk olacaktır – Türkiye Turklerindir” (Yenicag), “How happy is the one who says ‘I am a Turk’ – Ne mutlu Turkum diyene” (Ortadogu). Some of the newspapers evoke the nationalism in more subtle ways such as, “Turkey’s newspaper – Turkiye’nin Gazetesi” (Aksam), “The best newspaper of Turkey- Turkiye’nin en iyi gazetesi” (Sabah), “Your way of understanding Turkey – Turkiye’yi anlamanin yolu” (Today’s Zaman), “The Future of New Turkey - Yeni Turkiye’nin gelecegi” (Milat), “New Turkey’s newspaper – Yeni Turkiye’nin gazetesi” (Star), “Turkey’s newspaper – Turkiye’nin gazetesi” (Aksam), We love Turkey and the people – Turkiye’yi ve insanlari cok seviyoruz’ (Posta), ‘Turkey’s newspaper’ (Bugun)¹². Also, the very brand names of several newspapers are constant reminders of our nationhood, national ideals and ‘our’ place in the world: ‘Turkey’ (Turkiye), ‘Nationality’ (Milliyet), ‘Freedom’ (Hurriyet), ‘The Republic’ (Cumhuriyet), ‘Turkish Daily News’, ‘The National Newspaper’ (Milli Gazete), ‘Middle East’ (Ortadogu) and ‘New Asia’ (Yeni Asya).

Finally, only 356 out of the 2315 news item (15%) and merely 44 of the 363 columns (13%) are related to the news on foreign policy and this situation asserts, as Fowler remarks, “homocentric” structure of the print media.

4.1. Use of words stimulating nationalism

Language, as one of the most important determinants of national identity, facilitates the creation of a bond among people speaking the same language. All the papers address their readers as member of the nation. They employ a routine ‘deixis’ which is continually pointing to the national homeland as the home of the readers. Small, unnoticed words – chiefly personal

¹² I believe it should be noted that according to Kose and Yilmaz’s research, Sozcu used a slogan as “The guardian of the republic”, but when I conduct this reseach Sozce didn’t have any slogan on its logo although it has a Turkish flag and Mustafa Kemal’s eyes.

pronouns such as 'I', 'you', 'we', 'our' also indicators of time such as 'now' and 'today' or of place such as 'here' and 'there' are crucial components in this routine deixis of the homeland (Billig, 1995: 11; Law 301). Those deixis, which are forms of rhetorical pointing, are important in flagging nationhood. The rhetorical forms of flagging and deixis of homeland invoke the national 'we' and places 'us' within 'our' homeland. 'We' the nation within the homeland can so easily imagine 'ourselves' as some sort of family (Billig, 1995: 109). 'We' includes not only the 'we' of reader and writer but also the global 'we' composed of all reasonable people. So deixis operates at still deeper levels (Law; 302). One example is from *Star*, "Kaburga kikirdagini kulak yaptik, karinlarina diktik- we made an ear from the ribs' cartilage and implant their abdominal". The story is about a group of doctors from Turkey who went to Gaza to help people. The presentation of the story marginalizes the Gazans but makes the 'reader' part of the family.

The newspapers contribute to the routine formation process in multiple ways. The organization of the papers and the presentation of the news can be observed to illustrate this argument. On the day of the survey, 27 of the 34 newspapers under scrutiny (approximately 75 percent of them) separated foreign news from domestic news. Whereas those news items which do not belong to 'us' are presented under such sub-headings as 'The World', 'The World Tour', 'Foreign News', 'From the World', domestic news items are classified under subject heading and do not carry a specific caption like 'Home News' as if, unless otherwise stated, all news is domestic news.

Similarly, the weather sections of the papers routinely report national and foreign weather separately under different headings. Very much in line with Billig's observation (1995: 116-117), the papers generally use a map of Turkey in reporting weather. However, they do not label it Turkey, presuming the shape of the national geography to be familiar to, thus easily

identifiable by, the readers. This way of presenting the weather serves to reinforce and naturalize at the level of the unconscious the geographical shape of the homeland, which the reader has encountered countless times in the course of their lifetime. (Yumul and Ozkirimli, 2000: 790)

By organizing their structure along national lines, the newspapers duplicate the division of the world into 'home' and 'foreign' – hence, into 'us' and 'them' – remind us that 'we' belong to 'our' homeland (Billig, 1995: 115, Yumul and Ozkirimli, 2000: 790). In turn, 'we' the readers, being at the same time citizens of the nation-state, accept this division as natural boundaries. At most, we cast an eye over 'their' news and without wasting much time at foreign soils; we turn to 'our' familiar homeland territory (Yumul and Ozkirimli, 2000: 790).

As Table 1 demonstrates, in the Turkish press, the proportion of national news items outweighs the international ones. I would also like to mention here that most of the international news situated on the front pages of the newspapers was either directly related to Turkey or presented in such a way as to attach particular prominence to its implications for Turkey.

Table 2- Ideological Affiliations of the newspapers included in this study.

Ideological affiliations	Newspapers
Liberal	Hurriyet Daily News, Posta, Taraf, Radikal
Centre Right	Aksam, Bugun, Gunes, Haberturk, Hurriyet, Milliyet, Sabah, Star, Takvim , Vatan
Centre Left	Cumhuriyet
Extreme Nationalist Right	Ortadogu, Sozcu, Yeni Cag
Extreme Islamist Right	Milat, Yeni Akit, Milli Gazete, Yeni Asya, Yeni Mesaj
Extreme Left	Birgun, Evrensel
Moderate Islam	Today's Zaman, Turkiye, Zaman

Liberal Financial	Dunya,
Neo-Nationalis (Ulusalci)	Yurt, Aydinlik
Sports	Fanatik, Fotomac, Fotogol

4.2. Uludere (Roboski) Massacre

As Yumul and Ozkirimli noted on their survey, (2000) ‘question of ‘nation’ and ‘national identity’ have been particularly predominant in Turkish political discourse in the last two decades’ or more, ‘under the impact of the Kurdish and pan-Islamist movements’. Moreover, the day before the survey was conducted, Emine Erdogan, the wife of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, travelled to Uludere (Uludere is the official name, the local people call the area Roboski) region where 34 civilians were killed by Turkish jets' bombardment on smugglers on December 27, 2011¹³. Almost all newspapers covered Emine Erdogan’s visit to Uludere¹⁴.

On the day of the survey, 27 newspapers out of 34, covered the story of Roboski, 23 of them on their first page. Political figures’ visit’s to disaster areas are always important. After the airstrike, PM Erdogan didn’t go to Uludere, but phoned the families who lost their sons or relatives¹⁵. I have to also mention here that Turkish media didn’t cover Uludere massacre for nearly 6 hours¹⁶ after the incident. Journalist Ragip Duran’s article “Racist as the state, militarist

¹³ For more information about Roboski please visit <http://bianet.org/english/human-rights/143200-timeline-what-happened-in-roboski>

http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkce/haberler/2013/05/130510_mahmut_roboski.shtml

¹⁴ The most important thing here is television channels broke the news almost 6 hours after the airstrike.

¹⁵ <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25310422>

¹⁶ Ragip Duran’in yazisi icin <http://apoletimedya.blogspot.com/2011/12/devlet-kadar-irkci-hukümet-gibi.html>
<http://www.agos.com.tr/uluderede-medyanin-suskunlugunu-ragip-duran-elistiriyor-281.html>

as the government – Devlet kadar irkci, hukümet gibi militarist” sums up the Turkish media’s position for the day saying, “whatever its relationship with the political power, Turkish mainstream media, especially on the Kurdish issue, shows its identity as racist, militarist, distorter and blind.” In his article on December 30th, Duran discussed the Turkish media’s attitude towards the state of Kurds in Turkey. Duran mentions that Turkish media was silent until the Turkish General Staff made a statement, demonstrating how the Turkish media acts for the dominant political establishment not for the sociological facts. Duran calls the Turkish media “Apoletli Medya” which means “media with epaulet –i.e. serving the army”. He says “Apoletli medya emir komuta zinciriyle yayın yapıyordu, yapıyor, yaptı”. Duran also emphasized that 24 hours after the incident, none of the media companies had sent their reporters to Uludere, which for him indicate that, “from the beginning, the Turkish media wanted to make people forget the incident or ignore it if it were possible”.

Ragip Duran remarks how giving background information is important to give context to a story. He comments, “ there is nothing in our mainstream media. Moreover, CHP Dersim MP Huseyin Aygun made public that there have been numerous similar operations in 1990’s in the region which have never been revealed. Archives are very rich on this topic. This is not the first time that the Turkish Armed Forces has made an ‘operational mistake’.”

Another important point that Duran underlines is that “the mainstream Turkish media always justify the Turkish Armed Forces’s use of violence, on the other hand the same media organizations condemns the other side’s use of violence, which is extremely hypocritical”. As of June 2013, it is still unknown who gave the order to the soldiers for the airstrike in Uludere.

In carrying out this analysis as well as concentrating on the text, as a news reporter myself, I am also interested in the process of producing newspaper articles. For many discourse analysts it is acceptable to assert, as Fairclough (2001: 46) does, that ‘professional beliefs and assumptions of media workers are important in keeping the power of media discourse hidden from the mass of the population’, while ignoring the processes of writing and sub-editing, through which these beliefs and assumptions are carried on the page. In this respect the journalist turned linguist Colleen Cotter sets out key lessons taught to reporters during their training and careers. In her discussion of news writing, Cotter highlights the importance attached to brevity and precision, with brevity relating to minimizing word use and the injunction to use short sentences and paragraphs, and precision requiring the word choice that best conveys meaning (2010: 137; Crawford, 2011: 626). In terms of the earlier discussion over strategy, journalists use words to achieve certain goals – using their skills to explain complexity in a digestible format. This according to Crawford, is a crucial area because of the potential conflict that exists between brevity and precision. Journalists are constantly striving to be brief, which in turn leads to sometimes complex situations, movements and ideas being given a label – such as nationalism. Crawford asks, “but to what extent does this requirement to be economical with language contradict the requirement for precision and therefore of understanding?” (2011: 626).

When we look at Emine Erdogan’s Uludere visit’s coverage in the newspapers, we see that although almost all newspapers send their reporters to the region, the language of the stories are almost similar if not identical. Journalists visited to the region with Emine Erdogan and MP’s from the government, (this was embedded journalism) and didn’t question what is going on in Uludere, or offer opinions except those of (the power – government and pro-government viewpoints) Emine Erdogan. Here it should be noted that this ideological or tactical textual

silence or omission might have been the result of editorial censure and not the preference of the reporters themselves. Let me note in passing that for Critical Discourse Analysts what is left unsaid is often more significant than what is said.

Besides the omissions the language used to narrate the story is also important. To analyze this let me start with the headlines. Posta's headline for the story is "Anneler isterse baris saglanir" (If mothers want it, peace shall come), this is a sentence from Emine Erdogan's speech and most of the reporters used these words to cover the story. It is the discourse of the powerful, in this case, Emine Erdogan, the Prime Minister's wife which dominates the news and the text doesn't say anything about the other side of the story, neither in the headline, the spot nor in the story. As Journalist Ragip Duran mentions "the Turkish media is biased"¹⁷. Star uses a very similar headline "Uludere'de beraber agladilar" (They Cried together in Uludere), Aksam "34 cana gozyasi" (tears for 34-souls), Vatan, "Uludere'de gozyasi" (Tears in Uludere), Zaman, "Uludere'de gozyaslarini tutamadi" (Burst into tears in Uludere), Milliyet "Sizin aciniz omuzlarimizda" (Your pain is on our shoulders), Haberturk "Anneler isterse baris olur" (If mothers want, peace will come), Turkiye "Anneler isterse baris gelir" (If mothers want, peace will come), Sabah "Paylastik, dertlestik, aglastik" (we shared, communicated, wept together), Taraf "Anneler baris istiyor" (Mothers want peace), Akit "Uludere'de annelerin bulusmasi" (Mothers meeting in Uludere), Hurriyet Daily News "If mothers want it, peace shall come: PM's wife. All these newspapers report only what Emine Erdogan had to say about the Uludere incident but not the people who live in the region or the relatives of the people who had been killed by the Turkish Army. By just analyzing the headlines it is possible to easily identify the pro- and anti-AKP newspapers.

¹⁷ <http://apoletlimedya.blogspot.com/>

There are also newspapers that adopt a centrist position and those that are against the government. One of former one is *Gunes*. *Gunes*'s headline for the story is "Gec geldiniz, Hosgeldiniz" ("Late but welcome"). Although from the headline, it may look like *Gunes* adopts a more neutral position, when we examine the story we see that the coverage of the incident is very poor. The story is given only with 4 sentences on the cover page. Similar headlines are used by anti-government papers *Yurt*, "Simdiye kadar nerdeydiniz" ("Where were you so far", *Sozcu*'s headline for the story is "Sehit Mehmentciklerin analari da sizleri bekliyor Emine Hanim!.." ("Mothers of martyrs are also waiting for you, Emine Hanim!..") and *Cumhuriyet* "Hosgeldin ama gec geldin" ("Welcome but you came late"). This feeling of belatedness is also present in *Hurriyet* "Gec de olsa geldik, aglastik" ("Even though it is late, we came and we weep together"). However here we can detect an attempt to appeal to common agonies which results in a hegemonic discourse trying to diffuse resistance and maintain existing power arrangements.

Before I move on to other newspapers, I have to underline that none of the newspapers mentioned that Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan did not visit Uludere. Interestingly *Radikal*'s (which has a liberal editorial line) headline, "Uludere'de Emine Hanim'i aglatan soru" ("The question that made Ms Emine cry"): The father of one of the victims asked Emine Erdogan, 'Would you give your daughter's nail, if they gave you the world'. This is the only story that includes the voice of the victims' families. The question from the victim's father, however, is the only part of the story that significantly differs from the stories in other newspapers, so this seems to be an attempt to co-opt resistance from subordinated readers.

Yenicag has a totally different perspective: "Uludere'de temas farki" (difference of contact in Uludere). There are 2 pictures, one showing Emine Erdogan shaking the hand of a man, and the other of Deputy Prime Minister Besir Atalay who refrains from shaking hands with

a lady. *Aydinlik*, “Uludere’liler, Emine Erdogan’ın hediyelerini kabul etmedi” (“People from Uludere didn’t accept Emine Erdogan’s gifts”). Of all the newspapers analyzed, only *Birgun* didn’t use Emine Erdogan’s picture.

It is important to note that the newspapers that covered Emine Erdogan’s story used the same picture of Emine Erdogan crying in one of the victims’ house. *Birgun* looks from another angle to the story citing BDP MP Gulden Kisanak’s speech in the Parliament about Uludere where she had asked why those responsible for Uludere were not still punished. *Evrensel*’s story under the headline, “Ya Uludere’de katledilen cocuklar” (“How about the kids murdered in Uludere”) is not about Emine Erdogan’s visit to Uludere but PM Recep Tayyip Erdogan’s speech in the parliament about Syrian civil war ‘A drop of blood flowing from an innocent child, is many times more important than any strategy’.

I would like to underline two points; first the headlines like ‘if the mothers want peace, it will come’. Writing this headline makes people think that peace or wars are the choices of the mothers or the people. This headline implies that ‘peace’ has little to do with the government or the authorities; rather the responsibility rests with the people. Thus also placing the responsibility for deaths of the civilians in Uludere on to ‘the people’. The second thing I would like to mention is BDP MP Gulden Kisanak’s speech and its situation on the newspapers. Unlike Emine Erdogan’s story which was foregrounded, that is, given prominence by its physical placement, size word choice, location in the newspaper etc. , Kışanak’s speech was de-emphasized. Most papers chose to ignore the speech; others wrote a few sentences on it. Her speech asked different questions, questions which the mainstream media refrained from asking: ‘Who did this?’ ‘Who gave the order for the airstrike?’.

4.3. Banal nationalism on economic pages

Before I start to study the economics pages, I would like to refer to “nominalization and passivization” which are concepts in the economy sections of newspapers. The East Anglian School and subsequent analysts emphasized that there are several ideological features associated with nominalization and passivization: (i) deleting agency; (ii) reifying; (iii) positing reified concepts as agents; and (iv) maintaining unequal power relations (Billig, 2008:785).

‘Reifying’ is used a lot especially for economy sections. According to Billig, by turning verbs into nouns, speakers/writers can convey that entities, denoted by nominalization, have a real and necessary existence. In general terms, by means of nominalization speakers/writers turn processes into entities and typically assume the existence of such entities. These linguistic creations have a privileged discursive status because of their presumed existence. The presuppositions that justify the existence of these entities are harder to contest because ‘you can argue with a clause but you can’t argue with a nominal group’ (Halliday and Martin, 1993: 39; Billig, 2008:786). Fowler et al (1979) note that official discourse often uses nominalization in this way, thereby conveying the feeling that present social arrangements are objective and unchangeable. Muntigl (2002) and Mautner (2005) have examined how writers on economics can use ‘objective things’ rather than the contingent results of human actions.

The first example comes from *Sabah*, “Turkey loves advertisement – Turkiye reklamı sevdi”. The story is not about Turkey, but about Association of Advertising Agencies in Turkey. According to the story, advertisement investments increased 20% in 2011. The story is only about companies and their advertisement agencies but the way of the representing the story on

economy pages implies that every person living in Turkey is affected by this fact and love 'advertisement'.

The story about Geneva Car Show was covered by all newspapers. As a former journalist, let me note that travel and accommodation expenses of the journalists attending such events are not paid by the media companies for which they work, but are covered by companies for PR purposes. In this case it looks like Karsan paid for the whole travel and then journalists expressed positive opinions for the company. As it can be seen very clear from the headlines, all newspapers covered the story by using the words "delikanli" or "brave fellow". It is a metaphor that Turkish Minister of Economy Zafer Caglayan made and almost all papers-employed the same metaphor. *Vatan* "Ilk Turk mali otoyolu gorucuye cikardi, 'Babayigit benim' dedi" ("I am the brave fellow, first Turkish auto is to be seen"), *Posta* "Cenevre'ye Turkiye damgasi" ("Turkey's mark in Geneva"), *Star* "Babayigitlerin Cenova sovu" ("Brave fellow's Geneva show"), *Aksam* "Cenevre'deki 'gelecege surus'e made in Turkey damgasi" ("Made in Turkey mark in Geneva 'drive future' event"), *Yurt* "Karsan Cenova Otomobil Fuarinda" ("Karsan is in Geneva Auto Show"), *Zaman* "Cenevre'ye model cikarmak hayalimin otesiydi" ("To have a sample in Geneva was beyond my dreams"), *Milliyet* "Babayigitler podyuma cikti" ("Brave fellows took to the podium"), *Haberturk* "Karsan'in 'delikanli' V1'i engel tanimiyor" ("Karsan's 'delikanli' V1 stops at nothing"), *Radikal* "Babayigit Cenevre'de" ("Brave fellow is in Geneva"), *Cumhuriyet* "Koc: Sifirdan yatirima agirlik verelim" ("Koc: Lets invest in Greenfield investment"), *Turkiye* "Babayigit' Cenevre'de" ("Brave fellow' is in Geneva"), *Sozcu* "Rahmi Koc: Cari acik yumusak karnimiz, yurt disindan talep gelmiyor" ("Rahmi Koc: Current deficit is our weak side, there is no demand from overseas"), *Sabah* "Babayigit Cenevre'de cikti" ("Brave fellow showed up in Geneva"), *Hurriyet* "Dunyada vitrine cikan ilk Turk otosu oldu, banttan 200

milyon euro'ya inecek" ("First Turkish auto in the world came out, cost will be 200 million euro"), *Hurriyet Daily News* "Turkish automotive market losing steam on higher prices", *Dunya* "Cenevre'nin babayigidi Delikanli Karsan" ("Genova's brave fellow is 'Delikanli' Karsan"). I would like to also mention here that except 3 newspapers (*Cumhuriyet*, *Yurt* and *Hurriyet Daily News*- this one used *Hurriyet's* story) all newspapers send their editors to Geneva to cover the story.

4.4. Why newspapers like *Evrensel* and *Birgun* is important?

The newspapers *Evrensel* and *Birgun* are important because they give a chance to people's voice to be heard. For example, Turkish mainstream media very often does not cover stories on striking workers in Turkey or minority rights. The day that I conducted the survey, *Birgun's* headline is "Kadınlar vardır, kadınlar hapiste" ("there are woman, woman in the prison"). This story is about the *Birgun's* reporter's Zeynep Kural's speech¹⁸ in the prison. Another headline in the *Birgun* is "Onların hepsi bizim kardesimiz ama sen bunu anlayamazsın..." ("they are all our siblings but you can't understand that"). This story is about Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan speech in the parliament. What Prime Minister Erdogan said on his speech is "If Armenians are your siblings; people in Hocali are our siblings". Also *Birgun* and *Evrensel* are the only newspapers that cover news of striking workers in the country. On the day that I conducted this survey *Evrensel's* headline is "İnsanlık asimi!" (humanity-out!). This is a story about Sivas massacre where 35 intellectuals were killed in 1993. What differentiates these two papers from the mainstream media is that they side not with the powerful, but with the weak, with those whose voices do not find their way to the mainstream

¹⁸ At the time when I was conducted this study Zeynep Kural was arrested because of the KCK operations. She is free at the moment. For more information about KCK please visit: <http://www.bianet.org/konu/kck-operations>

media. What I mean by the weak and powerful i.e. those who have benefitted from Turkey's rapid economic expansion aided by government and those for who have been marginalized by economic shifts and are progressively ignored due to their poverty.

4.5. Sport news

As Yumul and Ozkirimli mentions there is relationship between sports and national identity (2011). It has been noted that sport, because of its universality, 'has been an important cultural arena through which collective identities have been articulated' (Blain et al., 1993: 12). As in the case in many other countries, sports games are presented with a military metaphor and international games are perceived as 'substitute wars' (Blain et al., 1993: 77).

State capacity for warfare sets the context for the newspaper sports page. On the parade ground of the sports page the national flag can be waved with free abandon. Although deictic words do not disappear entirely, subtle, implicit nationalism is replaced by more direct and emotive appeals to assume a patriotic stance. Sport, martial metaphors and national politics freely intermingle (Blain, Boyle, O'Donnell, 1993:210). Contained here is the unnoticed, daily preparation for the shocks of war, when people will line up for the national team, the state, to willingly make the ultimate sacrifice (Brohm, 1978; Law, 2013: 302).

There are 3 sports newspapers in Turkey that I study for my research, FotoMac, Fanatik and FotoGol. With a few exceptions, all newspapers in Turkey have 1 or more than 1 or more pages for sports news. Sports newspapers in Turkey mainly cover football news. Only a few news items can be seen on their pages about other branch of sports. The language of the sports news is quite different then the other items in the newspapers. One headlines from *FotoMac*, "We are going to raid- Baskina gidiyoruz" a story about Galatasaray – Fenerbahce match. For

the same game, *FotoGol*'s headlines is "This fire will burn Kadikoy - Bu ates Kadikoy'u yakacak" and *Fanatik* "Wait for us Kadikoy – Bekle bizi Kadikoy" with a giant picture of football coach Fatih Terim. Both football pages on the daily newspapers and sports newspapers, the editor use very big pictures when they represent a story. Especially for the sports newspapers use of slang words in the stories is common.

Part 5: Conclusion

State institutions have been, throughout much of their history, the major suppliers and organizers of public knowledge (Oncu, 2000: 314). Turkish mainstream media was born in 1853 and since then has always been the spokesman of the dominant ideology. To be able to do that Turkish mainstream media didn't hesitate to use censor or distort the news. Turkish media's chief duty has always been to protect benefits of the state, authorities, the powerful and not of the people. Turkish mainstream media always defended the official ideology. For example Istanbul newspapers covered Seyh Said Revolt only after 2.5 months after the incident took place (Duran: 2013). And despite the democratic reforms and "openings" in the Kurdish issue the mainstream media did not cover the Roboski massacre "in the first 18 hours and released their first coverage only after the government issued a press statement." (Kurban and Sözen, 2012: 51).

Actually the history of the Turkish media with few exceptions is the history of censure and self censorship. As it can be seen clearly from the Uludere story, mainstream Turkish media is the mouthpiece of the powerful, not the citizens of the country. Journalism has problems not only in Turkey around the world. David Denis' article¹⁹ on the Guardian sums up the situation very well: "Unpaid internships and a culture of privilege are ruining journalism. Media companies that rely on unpaid interns marginalize the voices of low-income communities and minorities."

¹⁹ Read the full article at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2013/may/28/unpaid-internships-privilege-ruin-journalism#ixzz2UgU3aJf5>

As Yumul and Ozkirimli highlighted “the discourse used by the Turkish press is crammed with the constituent elements of the nationalist ideology” (2000:801). According to Smith the central propositions of this ideology are:

- “The world is divided into nations, each with its own individuality, history and destiny.
- The nation is the source of all political and social power, and loyalty to the nation overrides all other allegiances.
- Human beings must identify with a nation if they want to be free to realize themselves.
- Nations must be free and secure if peace and justice are to prevail in the world. (Smith, 1991: 74; Yumul and Ozkirimli, 2000:801)

According to Yumul and Ozkirimli “the Turkish press does not question the naturalness of the above propositions”. Yumul and Ozkirimli also identified the corollary case saying, “it takes them for granted, presenting departures from these general rules as anomalies” (2000:801).

Kose and Yilmaz’s findings (2013), similarly to the results researched by Yumul and Ozkirimli, “it is observed that the newspapers taking part in the sample sensationalize the news and reproduce nationalism through explicit ideological references, inferences, and specific contrasts”. According to Kose and Yilmaz, “the place of nationalism in our routine discourse is advanced by determining the gravity of the rhetoric forms serving routinely the purpose of agitating the nationalism and named as “deixis” by Billig”. Kose and Yilmaz underlined that “the intent was to create an awareness to the underlying nationalist code embedded in mass

communication”. However they found out these messages are not always made explicit; the media therefore often uses indirect references and invokes nationalistic feelings (2012:923).

Similar to the results reached by Yumul and Ozkirimli, I observed that the newspapers sensationalize the news and reproduce nationalism through explicit ideological references, inferences, and specific contrasts. In addition, the place of nationalism in our routine discourse is advanced by determining the gravity of the rhetoric forms serving routinely the purpose of agitating the nationalism and named as “deixis” by Billig. My aim was to create awareness to the underlying nationalist codes embedded in mass communication. However, these messages are not always made explicit; the media therefore often uses indirect references and invokes nationalistic feelings.

Yumul and Ozkirimli’s research on ‘Banal nationalism’ in 1997 and since then many aspects changed in Turkey and Turkish media. First of all, today, the ownership situation of media is very different to 1997. Also Turkey’s EU membership talks and reforms have changed the discourse of Turkish newspapers on Kurdish issue. There are new newspapers. In spite of all the changes in Turkey, Turkish media’s discourse on banal nationalism didn’t change. Media is still an instrument for flagging nationhood.

This study focuses on the text and not on the way the texts are received and appropriated by the readers. This study should be supplemented with other research adopting the active audience approach in order to analyze the diversity of responses given to texts by the readers.

References

- Anderson, B. (1983). Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso Press.
- Billig, M. (1995). Banal Nationalism. London: Sage.
- , (2008). The Language of critical discourse analysis: the case of nominalization. Discourse and Society. Vo 19(6): 783-800.
- , (2009). 'Reflecting on a critical engagement with banal nationalism- reply to Skey, The Sociological Review. 57:2,347-352.
- Balakrishnan, G. (1996) 'The National Imagination', pp. 198-213 in G. Balakrishnan (ed.) Mapping the Nation. London: Verso/New Left Review.
- BBC. (2006). Brown speech promotes Britishness. 2006. 10 June 2013. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/4611682.stm
- Bishop, H. & Jaworski A. (2003) "We Beat 'Em": Nationalism and the Hegemony of Homogeneity in the British Press Reportage of Germany versus England during Euro 2000. Discourse and Society. 14(3):243-71.
- Blain, N., Boyle R. & H. O'Donnell. (1993). Sport and National Identity: Arts and Landed Elites in Scotland', Sociology. 33(3):515-34.
- Blain, N., Boyle R. & O'Donnell, H. (1993). Sport and National Identity in the European Media. London and New York: Leicester University Press.

- Breuilly, J. (1996). Approaches to nationalism. In Balakrishnan G (ed.) Mapping the Nation. London: Verso.
- Brookes, R. (1999). Newspapers and National Identity: The BSE/CJD Crisis and the British Press. Media, Culture and Society. 21(2):247-63.
- Brown, D. (2000). Contemporary Nationalism: Civic, Ethnocultural and multicultural Politics. London: Routledge.
- Brohm, J.-M. (1978) Sport – A Prison of Measured Time. London: Photo Press.
- Brown, G. (1999). Speech by he Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown MP, at the Smith Institute. June 2013. Available at <http://archive.treasury.gov.uk/speech/cx160200.html>
- Chernilo, D. (2006). 'Social Theory's methodological nationalism'. European Journal of Social Theory. 9(1): 5-22.
- Connor, W. (1994) Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Cotter, C. (2010). News Talk: Investigating the language of journalism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crawford, E. (2011). Them and us: Why they are nationalist and we are not. An analysis of journalists' language in relation to others. Journalism. 13 (5) 620-638.
- Duran, Ragip. Gezi direnisini akilli telefonlar degil, akilli cocuklar yapiyor. 2013, 10 June 2013 <http://apoletlimedya.blogspot.com/>

- De Cillia, R., M. Reisigl & R. Wodak. (1999). The Discursive Construction of National Identities. Discourse and Society. 10(2): 149-73.
- Drakulic S (2008) Whence Nationalism? Nation and Nationalism 14 (2): 221-239.
- Eksin, A. & Harvey, B. (2011). Dogan Agrees to Sell Two Turkish Newspapers for \$74 Million. 2011, 10 June 2013.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). Language and Power. 2nd edn. Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Fowler, R. (1991). Language in the News. London: Routledge.
- Hall, S. Critcher, C. Jefferson, T. Clarke, J. & Roberts, B. (1978). Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order. London: Macmillan.
- Jones, R. & Marrison, P. (2009). Hot, banal and everyday nationalism: Bilingual road signs in Wales. Political Geography. 28, 164-173.
- Keating, M. (2001). Nations Against the State: The New Politics of Nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Kemmelmeier, M. & Winter, D. G. (2008). Sowing Patriotism, But Reaping Nationalism? Consequences of Exposure to the American Flag. Political Psychology. Vol. 29, No. 6, 859-879.
- Kose, A. & Yilmaz, M. (2013). Flagging Turkishness: the reproduction of banal nationalism in the Turkish press, Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity. 40:6, 909-925.

Kurban, D. & Sozeri, C. (2012). Caught in the Wheels of Power: The Political, Legal and Economic Constraints on Independent Media and Freedom of the Press in Turkey, Tesev Istanbul.

Lacey, N. (2009). Image and Representation: Key Concepts in Media Studies. 2nd edn. Baingstoke: Palgrave.

Law, A. (2001). Near and far: banal national identity and the press in Scotland' in Media, Culture and Society. Vol. 23: 299–317.

Baruh, L. & Popescu, M. (2008). Guiding metaphors of nationalism: the Cyprus issue and the construction of Turkish national identity in online discussions, Discourse & Communication. February 2008 vol. 2 no. 1 79-96.

Leslie, P. (ed.) (1997). The Gulf War as the Popular Entertainment: An Analysis of the Military Industrial Media Complex. Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Lipset, D. & Halvaksz, J. A. (2009). Smoke as Mirror: Marijuana, the State, and the Representations of the Nation in Pacific Newspapers. Ethnology. vol. 48, no. 2. Spring 2009, pp. 119-138.

Obama, B. (2007). The Audacity of Hope. Edinburg: Canongate.

PCC (2011) Editors' Code of Practice. June, 2013. Available at:
<http://www.pcc.org.uk/cop/practice.html>

Philo, G. Beharrell, P. & Hewitt, J. (1977). One dimensional news – television and the control of explanation. In: Beharrell P and Philo G (eds) Trade Unions and the Media. London:Macmillan.

Philo, G. (2007). Can discourse analysis successfully explain the content of media a journalistic practice? Journalism Studies. 8(2): 175-196.

Randall, D. (2000). The Universal Journalist. London: Pluto.

Ricento, T. (2003). The discursive construction of Americanism. Discourse and Society. 14(5): 611-637.

Richardson, J. E. (2007). Analysing Newspapers, An Approach From Critical Discourse Analysis. New York, Palgrave Macmillan.

Rosie, M. MacInnes, J. Petersoo, P. & Kennedy, J. (2004), Nation speaking unto nation? Newspapers and national identity in the developed UK. The Editorial Board of Sociological Review. 437-458.

Rusciano, F.L. (1997). First and Third World Newspapers on World Opinion: Imagined Communities in the Cold War and Post-Cold War Eras. Political Communication. 14(2): 171-90.

Seymour-Ure, C. (1997) Editorial Opinion in the National Press. Parliamentary Affairs. 50(4): 586-608.

Sezgin, D. & Wall, M. (2005). Constructing the Kurds in the Turkish press: a case study of Hürriyet newspaper, Media, Culture and Society. 27 (5):787-798

Skey, M. (2009). The national in everyday life: A critical engagement with Michael Billig's thesis of Banal Nationalism. The Sociological Review. 57:2, 331-346.

Smith, A.D. (2001). Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History. Oxford: Polity Press.

Tezcan, Ahmet. ETI Bank: Sabah Grubuna Intikam Planı. 4. Kuvvet Medya. 2000, 10 June 2013

<http://www.dorduncukuvvetmedya.com/medyaram/medyaram3.htm>

The Scotsman. (2010). Warning over Conservative 'nationalism'. June 2013. Available at

<http://www.scotsman.com/news/warning-over-conservative-nationalism-1-791645>

Van Dijk, T. (2008). Critical discourse analysis and nominalization: problem or pseudo-problem? Discourse and Society. 19(6): 821-828.

Widdowson, H.G. (2007). Discourse Analysis. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wodak, R. De Cilla, R. Reisigl, M. & Liebhart, K. (1999). The Discursive Construction of National Identity. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Wimmer, A. & Schiller, G. (2002). Methodological nationalism and beyond: nation state building, migration and the social sciences. Global Networks. 2 (4):301-334.

Yumul, A. & Ozkirimli, U. (2000). Reproducing the nation: 'banal nationalism' in the Turkish press. Media, Culture and Society. 22(6), 787-804 .